

Message Text

SECRET

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43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /116 W
----- 001201

R 021521Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4973

INFO CINCPAC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T MOSCOW 0045

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR,US, TW

SUBJECT: SOVIET INTEREST IN TAIWAN

CINCPAC FORPOLAD

REF: A. HONG KONG 12619

B. TAIPEI 7708

1. SUMMARY: SOVIET PUBLIC STANCE ON TAIWAN HAS INCREASINGLY POINTED UP ALLEGED PRC WILLINGNESS TO LIVE WITH DE FACTO EXISTENCE OF GRC FOR INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME. BY IMPLICATION, THIS "RELAXED" STANCE BY PEKING MAY JUSTIFY MORE FORWARD SOVIET POLICY TOWARD TAIWAN UNDER CONTINUED RUBRIC OF "ONE CHINA." VISIT OF PRO-ROC SCHOLAR TO MOSCOW ACADEMIC INSTITUTES IS A SMALL STEP IN THS DIRECTION. END SUMMARY.

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2. SOVIET POLICY TOWARD TAIWAN SHOWS SIGNS OF ADJUSTMENT RECENTLY, ALTHOUGH SOVIET OFFICIALS AND MEDIA DON'T ADMIT TO ANY CHANGE. LATEST PUBLIC TREATMENT OF SUBJEC IS FOREIGN AFFAIRS WEEKLY "NEW TIMES" (NO. 52, DEC 28) RIPOSTE TO NCNA COMMENT (REF A) ACCUSING MOSCOW OF PROMOTING TWO CHINAS. NEW TIMES CALLS THIS ACCUSATION FALSE. INSTEAD OF REITERATING SOVIET POLICY, HOWEVER, ARTICLE SETS FORTH EVIDENCE THAT IT IS PEKING ITSELF WHICH HAS ACQUIESCED IN TWO CHINAS BY RAISING NO OBJECTION TO U.S. AND JAPANESE PRESENCE THERE AND AT SAME TIME IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH GOJ AND U.S.

3. IN ESSENCE, NEW TIMES FOLLOWS SAME LINE AS NOVOSTI FEATURE WHICH TOUCHED OFF CURRENT FOUNDED OF SINO-SOVIET DEBATE OVER TAIWAN. GIST OF OCTOBER NOVOSTI ITEM (WHICH WE HAVE NOT SEEN IN SOVIET PRESS BUT WHICH JAPANESE EMBOFF HERE TRACKED DOWN AT THE NOVOSTI OFFICE AFTER IT APPEARED IN SOV EMBASSY PRIS BULLETIN AND WAS NOTED BY LE MONDE) WAS THAT PEKING HAS SHIFTED FROM A STRUGGLE STRATEGY TO A "REUNIFICATION" STRATEGY LVOR TAIA N.

4. WHETHER MOSCOW BELIEVES ITS OWN ANALYSIS IS A MOOT POINT, BUT THE ANALYSIS HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF JUSTIFYING A MORE FLEXIBLE SOVIET POSITION ON TAIWAN. VISIT OF CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY (FRESNO) SCHOLAR TO SOVIET ACADEMIC INSTITUTES (REF B) FOR DISCUSSIONS OF TAIWAN IS CONSISTENT WITH HEIGHTENED SOVIET INTEREST IN THE ROC. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, SOVIETS HAVE EXHIBITED SIMILAR FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH SOUTH KOREA, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE OCCASIONALLY INCURRED PYONGYANG'S WRATH AND HAVE THUS TENDED TO MOVE VERY CAUTIOUSLY.

5. WHILE SOVIET INCITATION TO A PRO-ROC PROFESSOR (IS HE CITIZEN OF ROC?) IS RELATIVELY VENTURESOME MOVE, WE WOULD CAUTION AGAINST READING TOO MUCH INTO PROF. CHANG'S VISIT. HIS HOST, BORIS ZANEGIN, IS WELL-ESTABLISHED CHINA SCHOLAR WORKING AT USA INSTITUTE, WHICH LIKE OTHER INSTITUTIONS VISITED IS NOT CONSIDERED TO BE PART OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT. ALLOWING FOR RE-TELLING,

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THE "MESSAGES" HE BROUGHT TO TAIWAN APPEAR TO BE MORE THE THINKING OUT LOUD OF SOVIET POLICY ANALYSTS THAN A BID TO THE GRC. SEEN IN THAT LIGHT, WHAT IS INTERESTING IS APPARENT SOVIET DESIRE TO CULTIVATE CHINESE ESTABLISHMENT ON TAIWAN NOT AS AN ALTERNATIVE CHINESE STATE BUT AS POTENTIAL FACTOR IN CONTENTION FOR POWER ON THE MAINLAND WHICH MIGHT ENSUE WITH MAO'S DEATH. IN THE MEANTIME, MOSCOW MAY HOPE TO OPEN SOME FORM OF COMMUNI-

CATION WITH THE GROG WITHOUT PREJUDICING THE FAR MORE
IMPORTANT LONG-TERM GOAL (IN SOVIET EYES) OF NORMALIZING
SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.SOMMERLATTE

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NNN

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